2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

There are about fifty *políticos* in the village, drawn from various groups. Some are *cultos*, others are *ignorantes*. Most of the leaders can read and write and might qualify for what Redfield designated the *correctos*, although no such social grouping is recognized in the village. Some of the *políticos* are poor, others rich; most are Catholic, but two important ones are Protestant. Some represent the older generation, others the younger. The attitude of the villagers toward the *políticos* is ambivalent. On the one hand, *políticos* are admired for their ability and popularity; on the other hand, they are criticized for neglecting their farm work and for spending and drinking excessively. The majority of the villagers are not active in politics and are called *apartados*. The *políticos* often refer to them as "niños miedosos" (fearful children).

Within the category of *políticos* there are other distinctions made, particularly between the *caciques* or *hijos de caciques* on the one hand, and the Zapatistas and *revolucionarios* on the other. The *hijos de caciques* are the descendants of the "best" families of prerevolutionary days. The term *cacique* is also applied to anyone who opposed the Revolution, irrespective of family background. The term has become a general term of opprobrium used against political enemies, especially if they are of an independent or haughty character.

Zapatista refers to all those who took an active part in the ranks of Zapata during the Revolution. Since most of the villagers sympathized with Zapata, the term "Zapatista" is now limited to those who actually fought with the guerrilla armies. For this reason they generally speak of "an old Zapatista" to differentiate between a sympathizer and a true fighter in the cause.

The term "revolutionary" is less used in Tepoztlán than either *cacique* or Zapatista, and was imported from Mexico City. The terms "revolution" and "revolutionary" are part of the official designations of the political parties in power since the Revolution. Despite the changes in structure and ideology, the word "revolutionary" remains in the titles of the leading parties. In the time of Calles it was called Partido Nacional Revolucionario; under Cárdenas and Avila Camacho, Partido de la Revolución Mexicana; and now, Partido Revolucionario Institucional. Since Tepoztecans have become increasingly exposed to political propagandists, they have come to associate the term "revolutionary" with anyone who works for the government party in power.

RELIGION

The first awareness of a religion other than Catholicism came to Tepoztecans at about 1900 when a group of Mormon missionaries converted a few families in the village of San Andrés. In the early thirties, exposure to another religion came closer to home when about twenty Tepoztecan families became Seventh Day Adventists. The leading figure in this break with Catholicism was a Tepoztecan from the poor barrio of San Sebastián. He was an ex-Zapatista and a local leftist *político* who had been forced to flee the village after the massacres of 1927. While in Mexico City he was converted. He returned to Tepoztlán in 1927, and by 1930 had won

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37.

many families in his barrio to the new religion. Thus, for the first time in the history of the village there were Catholics and Protestants.

The Protestant families were ostracized and on a number of occasions their homes were stoned. The fact that the Protestants were among the poorer families, and primarily *tlacololeros*, did not add to the prestige of the new cult. In the face of the hostility against them their number dwindled. Today there are less than a dozen families who continue as Seventh Day Adventists. They have managed to adapt themselves by continuing to pay the barrio *limosnas*, supporting local fiestas, and not being too strict about keeping their Sabbath (Saturday) when working for a Catholic employer. Though no longer persecuted they still have very low status in the village. The children of these families have suffered a great deal. They are the butt of bitter comments and jokes in the school and have very few friends in the village. Nevertheless, the leader of the Seventh Day Adventists has again become active in village politics and has been accepted again by his Catholic political colleagues. This has meant a departure from Seventh Day Adventist tenets, in that he has returned to drinking and smoking. Now he says of himself, "I am half-Catholic again."

This experience with Protestantism within their own ranks has made Tepoztecans wary of outsiders who may be identified as Protestants. This was further reinforced by the establishment of the Hatch Demonstration Project under the auspices of the YMCA. The church has waged a sucessful propaganda campaign against the project, denouncing it as a Protestant missionary center working under the guise of a scientific program.

THE FAMILY

Tepoztlán is a family-centered society. The biological family consisting of parents and unmarried children constitutes the basic economic and social unit, and is by far the predominant type. The Tepoztecan family has a strong patriarchal emphasis and patrilocal residence is preferred. Families are strong, cohesive units held together by traditional bonds of loyalty, common economic strivings, mutual dependence, stability of marriage, the prospect of inheritance, and finally, the absence of other social groups to which the individual can turn in time of need. Family unity and stability is further assured by the pattern of child training and the nature of parent-child relationships, which will be discussed later.

Some Tepoztecan families work smoothly with a minimum of tensions. In others there is much conflict and tensions resulting from drunkenness of the husband, adultery of one of the spouses, sibling rivalry, favoritism on the part of the parents, and difficulties with in-laws. Even in these cases, however, the negative or disruptive aspects of family life are generally counterbalanced by the positive ones, and the family remains the strongest and most cohesive unit. Moreover, despite the many social and economic changes of recent years and the rather sharp differences between generations, we find little decline in parental authority and little evidence of family disorganization.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

did not shoot him. The morning after the battle with the Cristeros, Cortés Sedano was removed to the Cuernavaca prison and two days later was released by the governor with a warning. Cortés Sedano returned to the village and continued his religious work but abandoned the Cristero movement.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH TODAY

The church of Tepoztlán is an integral part of the structure of the Roman Catholic Church and is under the jurisdiction of a hierarchy of authorities, most of whom are outside of the municipio. Most of the characteristics of the local church are similar to Catholic churches everywhere, but a few are unique, if not to Tepoztlán, then to Mexico. For example, the Catholic Church is a highly centralized, authoritarian organization in which officials and prelates are appointed by their superiors and in which all policy is laid down by those in high positions. But in Tepoztlán, as in other Mexican villages, there is a democratic element in the election of *mayordomos* and a marked freedom in the conduct of all secular aspects of religious affairs, such as the maintenance of the barrio chapels, the celebrations of fiestas, and the collection of money for these fiestas.

Added to this type of local autonomy is the fact that the church in Tepoztlán is not a dynamic, militant organization and interferes only minimally in the private lives of the villagers. In general it is tolerant toward practices of magic, sorcery, and paganism, and toward drunkenness. Even the few Protestants have been left to go their own way. This situation is, in part, due to the passivity or disinterest of the local priest, who is himself a native Tepoztecan and tolerant of local traditions.

The arrival of a group of nuns in 1945 injected an aggressive religious attitude in the local church, for these women have actively applied pressure upon the villagers to live more Catholic lives. They have established a school to compete with the public school; they urge parents to attend services, to confess, and to have their children baptized, confirmed, and instructed in doctrine. They make frequent visits to homes, seek out those living in free union or married only by civil law and exhort them to have church marriages, and finally, they have attempted to convert several Protestants.

The complex organization of the church includes seven levels of ecclesiastic hierarchy. (See Chart 3.) The first and highest in the nation is the archbishop of Mexico. He maintains connections with Tepoztlán through the medium of circulars, pastorals, and general orders. Few if any Tepoztecans have ever seen him. Next is the bishop of Cuernavaca who is in charge of the churches in the state of Morelos. He visits Tepoztlán about once every five years, but has been seen occasionally by Tepoztecans when in Cuernavaca.

On the third level in the hierarchy is the local priest, the main figure in the central church of Tepoztlán (see Fig. 50), and the highest spiritual authority in the municipio. The fact that he is a native of Tepoztlán has facilitated his work there. Tepoztecans feel more comfortable with this priest than with all of his "foreign" predecessors, and are less inclined to complain and criticize him. His lack of